

FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES IN THE PROGRAMMES OF POLITICAL PARTIES



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The Verkhovna Rada plays an important role in formulation and implementation of the national foreign policy. Pursuant to the Constitution, Parliament is to lay down fundamentals of foreign policy and decide on ratification of international legal acts governing the principles, directions and mechanisms of Ukraine's co-operation with foreign countries. Hence, the positions of the parties that will be represented in Parliament will have a great effect on Ukraine's foreign policy in the future years.

This article analyses programmes of 26 political parties that have real chances of coming to the Verkhovna Rada of the new convocation, either on their own or as a part of electoral blocs¹. Programme provisions dealing with foreign policy platforms of the parties are summarised in Table² *"Foreign policy issues in the programmes of some parties taking part in the 2002 parliamentary election"*. The main conclusions drawn on the basis of analysis of those materials are presented below.

Main goals and directions of foreign policy

Practically all of the mentioned 26 parties support Ukraine's integration into the European and world community, its establishment as a sovereign independent state, and as an equal actor on the international scene.

At the same time, every party has its own vision of the essence and priority of the tasks that need to be solved for the attainment of the specified ultimate goals. Generalisation and analysis of those tasks show that they are centred around three main directions: (1) provision of clarity, consistency and effectiveness of Ukraine's foreign policy; (2) strengthening of Ukraine's security; (3) provision of Ukraine's interests in the sphere of international economic relations.

Provision of clarity, consistency and effectiveness of Ukraine's foreign policy. The concrete goals of this direction include:

- ❖ development of Ukraine's foreign policy doctrine (CUN, YPU, PIEU, R&O, URP, USDP);

- ❖ spread of information about Ukraine beyond the country's borders, informational openness of Ukraine, its accession to the world information community (WFF, CUN, LPU, RCP, USDP);

- ❖ protection of the rights of Ukrainian citizens, including labour migrants, outside the country (*Batkivshchyna*, WFF, R&O, LU, ChPU).

Strengthening of Ukraine's security. In this direction, specific goals are confined to the following:

- ❖ Ukraine's participation in the existing and prospective security systems. It is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of parties unambiguously support Ukraine's participation in the European security system (*Batkivshchyna*, DemPU, WFF, CUN, YPU, NDP, NRU, GPU, PIEU, PR, SDPU(u), *Sobor*, LU, UNR, URP); some parties stand for Ukraine's participation in universal (NRU, PIEU) and trans-Atlantic (CUN, NRU) security systems. Only CPU supports Ukraine's accession to the CIS Collective Security Organisation;

¹ Analysis covers the positions of parties that won the 1998 election and/or have factions in present Parliament, as well as parties and blocs that have real chances of success at the 2002 election, proceeding from the results of sociological surveys held by Razumkov Centre; the results of the latest poll are presented in this magazine. Leaders of Peasant Party of Ukraine (S.Dovhan), *Yabluko* Party (M.Brodskiy), Electoral Bloc "Unity" (O.Omelchenko) and Nataliya Vitrenko's bloc (N.Vitrenko) were unwilling to co-operate with the Centre within the framework of this project, so, their positions are not presented in the magazine.

² Abbreviations of party names used in the text: **APU** — Agrarian Party of Ukraine; **Batkivshchyna** — All-Ukrainian Association *Batkivshchyna*; **FU** — Party "Forward, Ukraine!"; **DemPU** — Democratic Party of Ukraine; **DU** — Party "Democratic Union"; **WFF** — All-Ukrainian Political Association "Women for the Future"; **CPU** — Communist Party of Ukraine; **CUN** — Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists; **LPU** — Liberal Party of Ukraine; **YPU** — Youth Party of Ukraine; **NDP** — People's Democratic Party; **NRU** — People's Rukh of Ukraine; **GPU** — Green Party of Ukraine; **PIEU** — Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine; **PR** — Party of the Regions; **R&O** — Party "Reforms and Order"; **RCP** — Republican Christian Party; **SDPU(u)** — Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united); **Sobor** — Christian People's Party *Sobor*; **Solidarity** — Party "Solidarity"; **SPU** — Socialist Party of Ukraine; **LU** — Party "Labour Ukraine"; **UNR** — Ukrainian People's Rukh; **URP** — Ukrainian Republican Party; **USDP** — Ukrainian Social Democratic Party; **ChPU** — "Christian People's Union".



FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES IN THE PROGRAMMES OF SOME POLITICAL PARTIES TAKING PART IN THE 2002 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Main goals and directions of foreign policy	Fundamentals and principles of foreign policy	Bilateral relations	Relations with international organisations
1. Viktor YUSHCHENKO's Bloc "OUR UKRAINE". Leader — Viktor YUSHCHENKO				
Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists Leader — Yaroslava Stetsko Programme approved on 28.06.1998, reaffirmed on 26.11.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Development and consistent implementation in international relations of a clear, strategically and tactically grounded foreign policy doctrine of Ukraine. ❖ Effective foreign policy activity along the geopolitical axes of East-West and North-South. ❖ Further development of co-operation with European and international actors in the field of co-operation and security (OSCE, the Council of Europe, Partnership for Peace, etc.). ❖ Establishment and development of co-operation in the regions of strategic importance: the EU, Central Europe (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia), former USSR; Baltic, Black Sea and Mediterranean countries. ❖ Integration into the system of European and world co-operation and European, trans-Atlantic (NATO) security. ❖ Full integration of Ukraine's economy into European and world economy. ❖ Reorganisation of Ukraine's diplomatic missions and their reinforcement with specialists of the national and statehood trend. ❖ Development of a set of measures for spreading true information about Ukraine beyond the country borders. ❖ Restoration and consolidation of the Ukrainian spirit in Diaspora and especially on Ukrainian ethnic lands beyond the country borders; assistance in the development of national consciousness, culture, education, in particular — to Ukrainian communities in Russia and Asia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Provision of vital interests of the nation through the establishment and maintenance of peaceful mutually advantageous co-operation with other countries on the basis of respect for and inviolability of state sovereignty. ❖ Consolidation of the pro-independence position of the state. ❖ Reliance on own potential in foreign policy. ❖ Non-participation of Ukraine in any inter-state structures dominated by Russia (CIS Inter-Parliamentary Assembly, etc.). ❖ Relations with the Russian Federation should be the same as with all other countries, ruling out imperial hegemony of a great power on the part of Russia. ❖ Mutually advantageous co-operation with the USA in economic and security spheres. ❖ Fair ultimate division of property of the former USSR. ❖ Provision of independence of the Armed Forces, in particular, their equipment and maintenance, from foreign (Russian neo-imperial) factors. ❖ Opposition to Ukraine's transformation into a market for low-quality goods, a source of raw materials for the developed countries. ❖ Preservation of all foreign trade ties and economic co-operation with all countries insofar as this meets the national interests. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Establishment and development of co-operation in the regions of strategic importance: the EU, Central Europe (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia), former USSR; Baltic, Black Sea and Mediterranean countries. ❖ Mutually advantageous co-operation with the USA in economic and security spheres. ❖ Relations with the Russian Federation should be the same as with all other countries, ruling out imperial hegemony of a great power on the part of Russia. ❖ Withdrawal of Russian forces, including Russia's Black Sea Fleet, from Ukraine and reimbursement of damages from the Fleet's activity; denunciation of the treaties on the Black Sea Fleet and military bases in Sevastopol made with Russia. ❖ Co-operation with regions of the Russian Federation seeking state independence (Tatarstan, Ichkeria, Ingushetia, Yakutia-Sakha, and Kalmykia). ❖ Restitution of the national cultural values from Russia to Ukraine. ❖ Development of partner relations with Moldova, Caucasian and Central Asian states. ❖ Raising the level of relations with the countries of the Middle East, Asia and Pacific region (Japan, Indonesia, etc.), Latin America (Brazil, Argentina). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Further development of co-operation with European and international actors in the field of co-operation and security (OSCE, the Council of Europe, Partnership for Peace, etc.). ❖ Integration into the trans-Atlantic security system (NATO). ❖ Immediate withdrawal of Ukraine from neo-colonial CIS. ❖ Non-participation of Ukraine in any inter-state structures dominated by Russia (CIS Inter-Parliamentary Assembly, etc.). ❖ Concentration of efforts on accelerated accession of Ukraine to the WTO.

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Main goals and directions of foreign policy	Fundamentals and principles of foreign policy	Bilateral relations	Relations with international organisations
Liberal Party of Ukraine Leader — Volodymyr Shcherban Programme approved on 19.12.1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Strategic goal — integration of Ukraine into the European and world political and economic community of nations. ❖ Creation of productive and mutually advantageous conditions for multilateral inter-state exchanges. ❖ Constructive work in authoritative inter-national organisations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Pursuance of an active and peace-loving foreign policy. ❖ Mutually advantageous trade and economic relations with all countries. ❖ More comprehensive mutual political, economic and informational openness of Ukraine and neighbouring states. ❖ Non-deployment of foreign troops and bases on Ukraine's territory. ❖ Preference of foreign investments over imports, provision for free foreign trade. ❖ Responsibility to the world community for environmental consequences of activity on own soil. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Non-deployment of foreign troops and bases on Ukraine's territory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Constructive work in authoritative international organisations.
Youth Party of Ukraine Leader — Yuriy Pavlenko Programme approved on 24.04.1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Full-scale integration of Ukraine into the world community, accelerated involvement of the country into the world system of division of labour. ❖ Implementation of the party Concept of harmonious universal world that supplements Ukraine's multi-vectored foreign policy with multiplicity of dimensions and levels, harmonises doctrinal provisions of unipolar and multi-polar world. ❖ Accelerated formation of the new European security model on the basis of the Corporate security platform for Europe and the European Security Charter. 	—	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Reformation of the UN with the aim of creating an effective global security system.
People's Rukh of Ukraine Leader — Hennadiy Udovenko Programme (new edition) approved on 6.05.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Integration into the world community. ❖ Establishment of Ukraine's place in the world as a European state. ❖ European and trans-Atlantic integration. ❖ Immediate application for NATO membership. ❖ Accession to the existing and newly-formed systems of global and regional security. ❖ Ukraine's integration into the trans-Atlantic collective security systems as the decisive factor guaranteeing its national security. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Priority of the national interests. ❖ Foreign policy doctrine based on the principles of indivisible economic, political and military integration into Europe and the world community, international and regional organisations. ❖ Ukraine's non-aligned status does not guarantee required security. ❖ Equitable, mutually advantageous co-operation with all states and international organisations on the basis of non-interference into internal affairs of partner countries, peaceful co-existence, firm abidance by the norms of international law. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Settlement of relations and disputes with Russia. ❖ Establishment of world market prices for transit of Russian oil and gas. ❖ Dependence on Russian energy supply poses constant threat of destabilising the socio-economic situation, economic and political pressure on the part of Russia. ❖ Final separation of Ukrainian and Russian power systems. ❖ Restitution of cultural values from Russia; fair ultimate division of assets and liabilities of the USSR. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ More active participation of Ukraine in the North Atlantic Co-operation Council and North Atlantic Assembly. ❖ Active development of military and military-technical co-operation with NATO, integration into NATO's political structures. ❖ Development of co-operation with OSCE, NATO, the EU, WEU. ❖ Immediate application for NATO membership. ❖ Provision of conditions for Ukraine's accession to the EU. ❖ Accession to the EEC free trade area.



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Development of co-operation with European and global security actors — OSCE, NATO, the EU, WEU. ❖ More active participation of Ukraine in the North Atlantic Co-operation Council and North Atlantic Assembly, promoting gradual transformation of those institutes, in combination with the Helsinki process, into components of the new pan-European security system. ❖ Active participation in peacekeeping missions, including jointly with NATO countries. ❖ Termination of Ukraine's membership in the CIS and its structures; instead, strengthening bilateral relations with CIS countries. ❖ Assistance to Ukrainians living outside Ukraine's borders. ❖ Ukraine should become one of the centres of world trade and international communication system. ❖ Provision of alternative sources of energy (oil, gas, nuclear fuel); commissioning of Odesa-Brody oil pipeline and Pivdennyi oil terminal. ❖ Encouragement of establishment of environmental inter-state unions to guarantee environmental safety on the regional and global levels. ❖ Ratification of all international conventions and protocols ruling out possibility of environmental aggression. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Repudiation of any political, economic, military and information pressure. ❖ Prevention of conflict situations by means of negotiations. ❖ Fair ultimate division of assets and liabilities of the former USSR. ❖ Orientation of defence industry towards co-operation with European defence structures for ensuring Ukraine's security. ❖ Opposition to Ukraine's transformation into a market for low-quality goods, a source of raw materials for the developed countries. ❖ Accession of all countries of the world to international treaties on environmental safety. ❖ Abidance by the world norms of protection of intellectual property rights, world standards of information exchanges. ❖ Liberation of the Ukrainian information space from the influence of media spreading hostile information about Ukraine. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Withdrawal of Russian military formations from Ukraine's territory; denunciation of relevant bilateral agreements. ❖ Delimitation and demarcation of the Ukrainian-Russian border, division of the water area of the Azov and Black seas and the Kerch strait. ❖ Strengthening of bilateral relations with the CIS countries. ❖ Improvement of relations with neighbouring states. ❖ Promotion of East European economic integration, development of co-operation with the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. ❖ Greater focus on relations with the countries hosting large Ukrainian Diaspora. ❖ Development of relations with the countries of the "third world". 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Accelerated accession to the WTO. ❖ Termination of Ukraine's membership in the CIS and its structures. ❖ Non-participation in closed economic and political structures involving the Russian Federation. ❖ Deepening of co-operation with GUUAM partners; transformation of GUUAM into a regional organisation. ❖ Active co-operation with international economic organisations.
Political Party "Forward, Ukraine!" Leader — Volodymyr Musiyaka Programme approved on 6.02.1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Integration of Ukraine into the European community. ❖ Co-operation with other states in establishment of a collective security system, in particular, participation in OSCE programmes. ❖ Peaceful and friendly relations with all neighbouring states. ❖ Concentration of efforts on East Asian markets. ❖ Greater focus on relations with the countries hosting large Ukrainian Diaspora. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ukraine's non-aligned status. ❖ Rejection of participation in political, military and economic structures that threaten with the loss of independence, incorporation of Ukraine into the sphere of influence of foreign countries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Peaceful and friendly relations with all neighbouring states. ❖ Greater focus on relations with the countries hosting large Ukrainian Diaspora. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Participation in OSCE programmes. ❖ Rejection of participation in political, military and economic structures that threaten with the loss of independence, incorporation of Ukraine into the sphere of influence of foreign countries.

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Party "Reforms and Order" Leader — Viktor Pynzenyk Programme approved on 11.10.1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Geopolitical goal — acquisition by the country of a decent place and national identity in the world community and attainment of a weighty role in the political architecture of the new Europe. ❖ Ukraine's integration into the world community, equitable and mutually advantageous partnership with neighbouring states. ❖ Attainment of equal rights in the terms of trade with other countries of the world. ❖ Legal regulation of the work of our compatriots abroad. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Foreign policy doctrine as an organic element securing national interests of the state. ❖ State regulation of immigration flow (establishment of quotas, proceeding from the needs and possibilities of the country). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ A system of bilateral agreements with neighbouring countries guaranteeing territorial integrity and inviolability of borders and forming favourable conditions for external economic activity. ❖ Effective co-operation with the countries of the former USSR in the sphere of socio-economic and scientific-technical co-operation. ❖ Attainment of equal rights in the terms of trade with other countries of the world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Intense activity in international institutions and European security structures: the UN, the Council of Europe, NATO, etc. ❖ Attainment of the status of an associated EU member. ❖ Co-operation with organisations of Central and East European countries.
Party "Solidarity" Leader — Petro Poroshenko Programme approved on 28.02.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Priority development of relations with neighbouring countries. 	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Priority development of relations with neighbouring countries. ❖ Establishment of mutually advantageous economic co-operation between border regions of Ukraine and neighbouring countries. 	—
Party "Christian-People's Union" Leader — Volodymyr Stretovych Programme approved on 14.11.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Establishment of Ukraine on the international scene as a peace-loving democratic state. ❖ Participation in building the "common European home" and development of co-operation with the European community. ❖ Mutually advantageous economic ties with all countries of the world, furtherance of the policy of encouragement of trade with the advanced countries of the world. ❖ Prevention and removal of attempts of interference into the internal affairs of Ukraine. ❖ Establishment of effective mechanisms for protection of rights of Ukrainian citizens all over the world. ❖ Search for alternative sources of energy supply. ❖ Active foreign economic strategy aimed at restoration of the old and acquisition of new markets for Ukrainian goods. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Establishment of Ukraine on the international scene as a peace-loving democratic state on the basis of principles of co-operation and non-interference into internal affairs of other countries. ❖ Inadmissibility of the use of force in the practice of international relations. ❖ Rejection of participation in political, economic and military structures of the CIS. ❖ Minimisation of economic dependence on foreign states. ❖ Firm abidance by the international environmental norms and commitments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Mutually advantageous economic ties with all countries of the world, furtherance of the policy of encouragement of trade with the advanced countries of the world. ❖ Maintenance and strengthening of equal parity relations with all countries established on the territory of the former USSR. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Deepening of Ukraine's co-operation with NATO as an effective means of European and global security, security of Ukraine and its active participation in the world politics. ❖ Refusal from participation in political, economic and military structures of the CIS. ❖ Exchange of information, establishment of contacts with international environmental organisations, including at development of environmental studies.





<p>Republican Christian Party Leader — Mykola Porovskiy Programme approved on 3.06.2000</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Securing a decent place for Ukraine in the world. ❖ Combination of foreign policy and military guarantees of Ukraine's security in the conditions of instability in the world and existence of territorial claims. ❖ Support for the Partnership for Peace programme. ❖ Encouragement of state policy aimed at protection of Ukrainians outside Ukraine. ❖ Ukraine's integration into the world information space. ❖ Establishment of new energy supply routes through construction of terminals, pipelines, tanker fleet. ❖ Conclusion of inter-state agreements on energy resources transit via Ukraine. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Absence of territorial claims and non-recognition of claims against Ukraine. ❖ Withdrawal of foreign troops from Ukraine's soil. ❖ Orientation of defence industry towards co-operation with European and world structures, expansion of ties with NATO for the benefit of Ukraine. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Deepening of co-operation with the countries of the Baltic-Black Sea region. ❖ Withdrawal of foreign troops from Ukraine's soil. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ukraine's accession to the EU and NATO, further integration into other European structures. ❖ Ukraine's accession to the UN Security Council as a permanent member.
<p>Ukrainian People's Rukh Leader — Yuriy Kostenko Draft programme passed in general on 9.06.2001</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Strengthening sovereignty, preservation of territorial integrity, securing national interests in different spheres of life, creation of the best conditions for economic and cultural progress, security of the state and the people. ❖ Ultimate establishment of Ukraine in the world as a European state. ❖ Integration into European and world structures and European security system is the decisive precondition for attainment of guarantees of Ukraine's national security. ❖ Economic, political and military integration into European security structures, such as the EU, CEI, WEU, NATO. ❖ Strategic orientation towards economic co-operation with the main strategic ally — the USA, with Canada, West European countries. ❖ Ukraine should take part in the development of ABM systems and politically support the US NMD system. ❖ Support for CEI — establishment of the alliance of Central and East European countries. ❖ Protection of the rights of Ukrainians living in other states. ❖ Promotion of inter-state environmental unions to guarantee environmental safety on the regional and global levels. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ukraine is not hostile to any country of the world; it has no territorial claims against its neighbours and does not recognise such claims against itself; strives so resolve all inter-state conflicts by peaceful means; rejects war and forcible pressure as means of attaining success in politics. ❖ Equal priority of all components of foreign policy — political, economic, military and humanitarian. ❖ Ukraine should proceed from the principle of inseparability of economic, political and military integration into Europe. ❖ Non-recognition of problems of human rights and the rights of people to democratic development as a purely domestic affair. ❖ Protection of rights of national minorities in countries of the world. ❖ Migration policy based on Ukraine's interests. ❖ Abidance by the world norms of protection of intellectual property rights, world standards of information exchanges. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The USA is the main strategic ally of Ukraine. ❖ Ukraine should take part in the development of ABM systems and politically support the US NMD system. ❖ Russia is a constant threat of instability and external threat for Ukraine. ❖ Withdrawal of Russian military formations from Ukraine's territory. ❖ Return by Russia of part of assets and liabilities of the USSR; return to Ukrainian depositors of the USSR Savings Bank of their funds taken by Moscow from Ukraine. ❖ Priority — good-neighbourly relations with Russia on the grounds of equality and mutual benefit. ❖ Co-operation with Poland as an important economic and political partner. ❖ Establishment of distinctive relations with Belarus, Baltic states, Moldova, Romania, Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Austria. ❖ Good relations with neighbouring states. ❖ Close contacts with Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Turkey and countries of the Middle East. ❖ More active co-operation with Balkan states, in particular, with Macedonia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ukraine's withdrawal from the CIS; membership in the CIS poses permanent danger for the Ukrainian state. ❖ Full integration of Ukraine into the EU. ❖ Integration into the political structures of NATO and WEU. ❖ Active development of military and military-technical co-operation with NATO and WEU. ❖ The ultimate goal — Ukraine's accession to NATO as the basis of the new European collective security system. ❖ Participation in OSCE. ❖ Ukraine's participation in NATO Co-operation Council, CSCE, the Council of Europe and European Parliament. ❖ Participation in GUUAM. ❖ Active participation in the UN peace-keeping activities and UNESCO programmes. ❖ Implementation of a Ukraine-NATO joint pilot project for prevention of and response to emergencies and a programme of disposal of aged ammunition left from World War II in the vicinity of Sevastopol and Kerch. ❖ Accession to the WTO. ❖ Further co-operation with the IMF, World Bank, EBRD.

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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ratification of all international conventions and protocols ruling out possibility of environmental aggression. ❖ Diversification of markets of domestic goods; easing of dependence on specific markets. ❖ Provision of alternative sources of energy (oil, gas, nuclear fuel); commissioning of Odesa-Brody oil pipeline and Pivdennyi oil terminal. ❖ Integration of Ukraine into the world trade system. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ In the Asian policy — accent on co-operation with Korea, Philippines, Lebanon, the Gulf countries and Iran. ❖ Development of relations with Argentina, Chile and Brazil. ❖ Strengthening of friendly relations with Japan, China, other countries of the Far East and Pacific region. ❖ Diversification of sources of oil and gas supply to Ukraine, first of all — from Central Asian countries and Azerbaijan. ❖ Conclusion of inter-state agreements on transit of energy resources and other goods via Ukraine. ❖ Creation of a free trade zone of CEFTA member countries. ❖ Liberalisation of bilateral trade and signing of bilateral free trade agreements with Romania, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Poland and Croatia. ❖ Priority development of trade and economic co-operation with the USA and Canada. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Expansion of Ukraine's participation in the work of international and European organisations for standardisation (ISO, IEC, OIML, CEN, CENELEC) and certification (IECEE, IECQ, EOTC). ❖ Preparation for Ukraine's accession to the International Accreditation Forum (IAF) and European Accreditation Association (EA). ❖ Co-operation with the EU should be the priority direction of Ukraine's foreign economic strategy.
2. Electoral Bloc DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF UKRAINE - PARTY "DEMOCRATIC UNION". Leader — Volodymyr HORBULIN				
Democratic Party of Ukraine Leader — Hanna Antonyeva Programme approved on 15.12.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Establishment of Ukraine in the world community as a sovereign independent state with a stable economy and peaceful policy. ❖ Integration into the European and world market of goods and services, attainment of a decent place in the international division of labour. ❖ Integration of transportation and communication systems into the European and world networks. ❖ Establishment of pan-European and international security systems. ❖ Protection of Ukrainian manufacturers and goods. ❖ Protection of rights of Ukrainians living in other countries. ❖ Employment of transit capacities in inter-state agreements. ❖ Immediate demarcation of the border. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Equitable good-neighbourly economic and cultural relations with neighbouring states. ❖ Ukraine has no territorial claims against its neighbours and does not recognise such claims against itself; it is not hostile to any country of the world. ❖ Ukraine strives to resolve all conflicts by peaceful means. ❖ Non-proliferation, limitation, non-use and future destruction of nuclear weapons all over the world. ❖ Positive foreign trade balance. ❖ Ukraine's non-nuclear status. ❖ Opposition to permanent stationing of foreign troops on Ukraine's territory. ❖ Ukraine's participation only in those inter-state structures that do not contradict principles of state independence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Opposition to permanent stationing of Russian armed forces on Ukraine's territory at the military base in Sevastopol. ❖ Economic co-operation with Azerbaijan, Turkey, Turkmenistan and countries of the Middle East for provision with energy resources. ❖ Economic co-operation with West European countries, the USA and Canada. ❖ Establishment of economic and cultural co-operation with countries of the Baltic region, Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Austria and countries of former Yugoslavia. ❖ Strengthening of economic and cultural ties with Japan, China and other countries of the Far East and Pacific region. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ukraine's participation only in those inter-state structures that do not contradict the principles of state independence. ❖ Strengthening of the UN role. ❖ Participation in the NATO Co-operation Council, CSCE, the Council of Europe and European Parliament. ❖ Development of GUUAM. ❖ Active participation in the UN peacekeeping activities and UNESCO programmes. ❖ Harmonisation of Ukraine's economic legislation with the EU norms.





<p>Party “Democratic Union” Leader — Volodymyr Horbulin Programme approved on 23.05.1999</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Priority of co-operation set to enable Ukraine to take a decent place in the international division of labour and on the world market in line with its interests. ❖ Maintenance of friendly relations with all countries abiding by the norms and rules of the international community. ❖ Weighty participation of Ukraine in international efforts at resolution of local conflicts, fighting international terrorism and crime. ❖ Protection of the rights of Ukrainians beyond the country borders. ❖ Protection of foreign economic interests of the national business. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Multi-vectored foreign policy on the basis of neutrality, non-alignment, preservation of national independence and sovereignty, inviolability of state borders of Ukraine. ❖ The goals and scale of co-operation with other countries are to be determined by the national interests. ❖ Inter-state relations based on mutual respect and benefit. ❖ Military interaction and military-industrial co-operation is admissible only with those states that have no territorial claims against Ukraine and other countries, respect the principle of state sovereignty and whose policy does not pose a threat to international stability. ❖ Ultimate and beneficial for Ukraine settlement of problems in relations with other countries inherited after the break-up of the USSR. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ultimate and beneficial for Ukraine settlement of problems in relations with other countries inherited after the break-up of the USSR. ❖ Uniform border controls along the whole perimeter of the border; easing of immigration pressure on Ukraine caused by “transparency” of part of its eastern borders. ❖ Liberalisation of the rules of leaving the country. ❖ Preservation of friendly relations with neighbours in the spheres of mutual interest. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Formation of conditions for integration into European structures while preserving friendly relations with neighbours in the spheres of mutual interest.
3. Electoral Bloc “FOR A UNITED UKRAINE!”. Leader — Volodymyr LYTUVN				
<p>Agrarian Party of Ukraine Leader — Mykhailo Hladiy Programme approved on 5.02.2000</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Priority of integration into the European and world community, international and regional organisations. ❖ Ukraine should be a link between the West and East, not a buffer between military-political blocs. ❖ Protection of sovereign interests of Ukraine and its citizens. ❖ Development of international co-operation at solution of international environmental problems: removal of the aftermath of the Chornobyl accident, reduction of pollution of the Black and Azov seas, sanitation of the basins of the Danube and the Dnieper, restoration of forests in the Carpathians. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Foreign policy determined by the national interests. ❖ Active and multi-vectored foreign policy. ❖ Balanced relations with the countries of both the West and the CIS. ❖ Neutral, non-aligned, non-nuclear status. ❖ Settlement of problems on the basis of bilateral and multilateral treaties and inter-state agreements. ❖ Non-accession to political-legal structures like the renewed Union or the Union of Slavic nations, as contrary to the present stage of historic development of the state. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Deepening of economic and political co-operation with Russia and Belarus, the CIS countries, other neighbour states as Ukraine’s strategic partners. ❖ Development of international co-operation at solution of international environmental problems: removal of the aftermath of the Chornobyl accident, reduction of pollution of the Black and Azov seas, sanitation of the basins of the Danube and the Dnieper, restoration of forests in the Carpathians. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Non-accession to political-legal structures like the renewed Union or the Union of Slavic nations, as contrary to the present stage of historic development of the state. ❖ Close co-operation with international and European organisations, participation in collective actions for prevention of armed conflicts. ❖ Priority of integration into international and regional organisations.
<p>People’s Democratic Party Leader — Valery Pustovoitenko Programme (new edition) approved on 22.04.2000, amended on 2-3.12.2000</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Full-scale integration into the European and world community, international and regional organisations, European and Euro-Atlantic structures on the condition of guarantees of sovereignty and territorial integrity. ❖ One of the priority tasks — development of relations with the EU, creation of conditions for accession to the organisation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Formulation of foreign policy on the basis of own national interests. ❖ Permanent status of a neutral state no longer corresponds to the geopolitical location of Ukraine between enlarged NATO and Russia. ❖ Fruitful co-operation with all states and international organisations on the condition of equality and mutual benefit. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Development of cultural and scientific contacts, free communication between citizens of the CIS countries, streamlined border crossing procedures for them. ❖ Maintenance of bilateral economic ties with the CIS countries, first of all, with Russia, at a sufficient level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Development of relations with the EU, creation of conditions for accession to that organisation as a priority task. ❖ Orientation of Ukraine towards co-operation with NATO. ❖ Transformation of NATO into a pan-European collective security system.

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Main goals and directions of foreign policy	Fundamentals and principles of foreign policy	Bilateral relations	Relations with international organisations
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Creation of a favourable external environment for economic and political development [of Ukraine — ed.]. ❖ Effective guarantees of security and preservation of territorial integrity of Ukraine on the part of the world community, in particular, the UN, OSCE, nuclear powers. ❖ Provision of international authority, national security. ❖ Transformation of Ukraine into one of the leading European states. ❖ Strengthening of Ukraine's competitive positions in the world economy. ❖ Deepening of geographic diversification of economic ties, first of all, energy imports. ❖ Transformation of Ukraine into one of the centres of world trade and international communication system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ukraine's international security is related with its close co-operation with international and European organisations, participation in collective efforts of the world community at prevention of armed conflicts. ❖ Ukraine should actively participate in the process of collective security in Europe. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Establishment of closer relations with developing countries — potential suppliers of energy resources and raw materials, markets for Ukrainian goods. ❖ Substantial intensification of economic contacts with the Baltic states. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Employment of the CIS mechanism for harmonisation of interests, first of all, on a bilateral basis. ❖ Economic co-operation within the CIS is a precondition for retention of markets and development of Ukraine's economic potential. ❖ Substantial intensification of economic contacts with the EU, BSEC, CEFTA, CEI.
The Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Ukraine Leader — Anatoliy Kinakh Programme approved on 9.02.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Development and implementation of a doctrine meeting the national interests. ❖ Creation of favourable conditions for Ukraine's integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures with simultaneous intense development of mutually advantageous economic and cultural ties with neighbouring countries, especially with Russia. ❖ A decent place in the international division of labour and on world markets. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Foreign policy doctrine built on the grounds of Ukraine's national interests. ❖ Policy based on a National Security Concept that gives priority not as much to military factors as to the means of possible transformation of Ukraine's national security into an effective element of overall security, efforts of the world community aimed at preservation of peace, demilitarisation, democratisation and humanisation of international relations. ❖ Participation in creation of a European and universal security system by means of a consistent, peaceful foreign policy based on the principles of non-alignment and multi-vectored approach. ❖ Development of friendly relations with all countries abiding by the norms of international law. ❖ Mutually advantageous co-operation. ❖ Non-interference into internal affairs of other countries. ❖ Peaceful co-existence, settlement of conflict situations by means of negotiations. ❖ Non-accession to military blocs. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Intense development of ties with neighbouring countries, especially with Russia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Creation of favourable conditions for Ukraine's integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures.





<p>Party of the Regions Leader — Volodymyr Semynozhenko Programme approved on 3.03.2001</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Fully-fledged involvement into the system of global relations. ❖ Intensification of the processes of European integration. ❖ Joint, with the Russian Federation, entry to the contemporary European economic and cultural community. ❖ Deepening of Ukraine's integration into the world community. ❖ Further development and optimisation of Ukraine's co-operation with NATO for full incorporation into the European security system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Openness and predictability of position. ❖ Realism, firmness and consistency in protection of the national interests. ❖ Activity and initiative at designing joint international projects. ❖ Abidance by the norms of international law. ❖ The processes of geo-strategic and military-political identification of Ukraine in the present highly dynamic world characterised by the appearance of new global military, information, environmental, economic, cultural identification threats require account of increased threats to the national progress, development of adequate responses and adjustment of the state policy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ukraine is the closest strategic partner of Russia in the West. ❖ Balanced and confidential relations of strategic partnership with the world leader — the USA. ❖ Development of economic interaction and scientific-technical co-operation with the CIS countries. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Enhancing the role and level of participation in the Visegrad "Four", GUUAM, Baltic-Black Sea organisation through economic co-operation. ❖ Active participation in the work of the UN, UNESCO, PACE, CIS. ❖ Further development and optimisation of Ukraine's co-operation with NATO.
<p>Political Party "Labour Ukraine" Leader — Serhiy Tyhypko Programme approved on 19.05.2000</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Development of relations with the EU, creation of conditions for accession to that organisation as a priority task. ❖ Active participation in the European collective security process. ❖ Foreign policy based on Ukraine's national interests aimed at economic and political development, protection of the interests of its citizens and manufacturers, promotion of its international authority and national security and encouragement of its integration into the world community. ❖ Full-scale integration into the European and world community, international and regional organisations. ❖ Protection of the interests of Ukraine's manufacturers. ❖ Protection of the interests and rights of citizens outside the country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Foreign policy based on Ukraine's national interests. ❖ Foreign policy should be built on the basis of clear priorities determined by economic, geopolitical, historic, cultural realities and traditions. ❖ Co-operation with all countries and international organisations on the condition of equality and mutual benefit. ❖ Ukraine should be an active participant in the European collective security process. ❖ The act of unilateral nuclear disarmament of Ukraine was unprecedented. Hence, we see it possible to demand special security guarantees from the UN, OSCE and nuclear powers for preservation of our statehood and territorial integrity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Establishment of close relations with Slavic countries towards which we should be competitive; penetration of their markets. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Full-scale integration into international and regional organisations. ❖ Interaction with European and international organisations in the security domain. ❖ Employment and perfection of the CIS for securing interests of the member states, first of all, on the basis of international agreements. ❖ Economic co-operation within the CIS, free movement and trade. ❖ Gradual harmonisation of Ukraine's legislation, technological and environmental standards in compliance with EU criteria.

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Main goals and directions of foreign policy	Fundamentals and principles of foreign policy	Bilateral relations	Relations with international organisations
4. Yuliya TYMOSHENKO's Bloc. Leader — Yuliya TYMOSHENKO				
All-Ukrainian Association <i>Batkvshchyna</i> Leader — Yuliya Tymoshenko Programme approved on 27.04.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Becoming an important geo-strategic centre, a leader of consolidation of the Central and East European countries, not just a link between the East and West. ❖ European integration of Ukraine, preparation for and future accession to the EU is the most important task for the next decade. ❖ Effective protection of external interests, provision of conditions for internal development. ❖ All-round protection of rights and interests of Ukrainian citizens in other countries of the world. ❖ Economisation of the entire foreign political activity. ❖ Creation of an effective collective security system in Europe. ❖ Reduction of dependence on external factors, increase in international competitiveness. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ An active, strong and independent policy. ❖ Equality, mutual benefit, democratisation of all foreign policy relations. ❖ Development of mutually advantageous political and economic co-operation with all countries. ❖ Opposition to artificial involvement into new union states, which inevitably leads to the loss of sovereign statehood. ❖ Complete nuclear disarmament. ❖ Policy of control of emigration and immigration processes fully taking into account the interests of Ukraine's national security. ❖ Security guarantees from nuclear powers and international organisations. ❖ For the period of 2001-2005 — preservation of the non-aligned status, active neutrality, effective international integration. ❖ Readiness of Ukraine to participation in formation of international military structures for conduct of international operations led or mandated by the UN. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Large-scale economic co-operation with neighbouring countries, especially with Russia, and with the leading countries of the world, such as the USA, Germany, Great Britain, France, Japan, China, India, is an important long-term goal. ❖ Development of equitable strategic partnership with Russia, the USA and other great powers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Accession to the EU. ❖ Co-operation with NATO for providing security guarantees. ❖ Intensification of activity of the UN, participation in military peacekeeping missions led by the UN. ❖ Intensification of activity of OSCE, creation of an effective security system in Europe.
Ukrainian People's Party <i>Sobor</i> Leader — Anatoliy Matviyenko Programme approved on 25.12.1999, amended on 18.02.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Participation in establishment of a new European and global security system. ❖ Clear orientation of Ukraine towards Europe. ❖ Revision of Ukraine's non-aligned status, fully-fledged membership in the EU and NATO. ❖ Active employment of advanced experience for democratic transformation of society and economic growth. ❖ Development of economic relations with other countries. ❖ Development of relations with the Ukrainian Diaspora in the West and East. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Opposition to emergence of supra-state entities in the post-Soviet space. ❖ Withdrawal of foreign troops and liquidation of their military bases. ❖ Observance of all international conventions and agreements joined by Ukraine on environmental safety issues; further active participation in the process of "Environment for Europe". 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Development of good-neighbourly relations with all neighbouring states. ❖ Development of all-round co-operation with our strategic neighbour — Poland. ❖ Protection of economic and political interests in relations with Belarus, Moldova, the Russian Federation, other countries of the former USSR and close co-operation with those countries. ❖ Withdrawal of foreign troops and liquidation of their military bases. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Accession to the EU and NATO.
Ukrainian Republican Party Leader — Levko Lukyanenko Programme approved on 30.04.1990 amended on 2.06.1991, 1.05.1992, 1.05.1993, 10.09.1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Protection of the interests of native people. ❖ Attainment of a decent place in the world. ❖ Protection of the interests of the Diaspora. ❖ Incorporation of Ukraine into the pan-European security system. ❖ Establishment of the League of Parties of the Inter-marine region as an important instrument of extension of co-operation between countries of the Baltic-Black-Adriatic Sea region and as the first step in Ukraine's integration with East and Central European countries and European Community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Introduction of a foreign policy doctrine based solely on the national interests. ❖ Mutually advantageous co-operation. ❖ Non-interference into internal affairs of other countries. ❖ Non-accession to aggressive military blocs. ❖ Settlement of conflict situations by means of negotiations. 	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Ukraine's accession to NATO's Partnership for Peace programme as a transitional stage to full membership in that organisation.





<p>Ukrainian Social Democratic Party Leader — Vasyl Onopenko Programme approved on 3.10.1998, amended on 4.03.2000</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Identification of the course of European integration as the priority of the state foreign policy doctrine. ❖ International and European integration based on active foreign policy aimed at close co-operation in international organisations, development of bilateral relations. ❖ Particular attention to guarantees of peace and security of Ukraine and all countries of the world. ❖ Spread of information about the processes of European integration, encouragement of co-operation between NGOs. ❖ Support for the efforts of cities, territories, public, political, cultural and other associations of Ukrainian citizens aimed at establishment of contacts with international or national cities, territories and organisations in different countries. ❖ Strengthening of energy security of the state through diversification of sources of energy imports. ❖ Integration of Ukraine's information system into European and world information systems. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Deepening of mutually advantageous economic, political and cultural co-operation with the countries of the European Community. ❖ Encouragement of involvement of East European countries to the processes of pan-European integration. ❖ Arms limitation. ❖ Ban on nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Deepening of mutually advantageous economic, political and cultural co-operation with the countries of the European Community. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Accelerated integration into European structures. ❖ Accession to the EU.
<p>5. All-Ukrainian Political Association “WOMEN FOR THE FUTURE”. Leader — Valentyna DOVZHENKO</p>				
<p>All-Ukrainian Political Association “Women for the Future” Leader — Valentyna Dovzhenko Programme approved on 4.03.2001</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Strategic goal of Ukraine — full-scale integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures and fully-fledged participation in the pan-European security system. ❖ Global and regional stability. ❖ Propaganda of Ukraine's image as a reliable and predictable partner all over the world. ❖ Retention of [the country's] positions, first of all, on the territory of the former USSR. ❖ Active development of political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other ties with neighbouring states; Western states — the EU and NATO members; geographically close states; Asian, Pacific, African and Latin American countries. ❖ Removal or artificial barriers for accession to markets of competitive Ukrainian goods. ❖ Diversification of sources of external funding. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Foreign policy should be yet another instrument of economic growth and wellbeing of citizens. ❖ Ukraine's territory within the existing borders is integral and inviolable. ❖ Mutually advantageous military co-operation with other countries. ❖ Renunciation of deployment and use of the Armed Forces of Ukraine beyond its borders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Conclusion of large-scale treaties of good-neighbourliness and co-operation with all neighbouring states. ❖ Establishment of political and military partner relations, economic co-operation with Western states — the EU and NATO members. ❖ Development of friendly relations with geographically close states. ❖ Maintenance of relations with those Asian, African, Latin American and Pacific states that play a weighty role in regional and world politics. ❖ Establishment of contacts with Middle East countries, in particular, OPEC members. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Development of European regional co-operation in all spheres. Priority direction — activity within CSCE. ❖ Strategic goal of Ukraine — full-scale integration into European and Euro-Atlantic structures. ❖ Establishment of political and military partner relations with EU and NATO member states. ❖ Co-operation within the CIS as an international mechanism for multilateral consultations and negotiations supplementing the process of formation of new bilateral relations aimed at facilitation of solution of problems that arose after the break-up of the USSR.

Party name - party leader - date of the programme adoption	Main goals and directions of foreign policy	Fundamentals and principles of foreign policy	Bilateral relations	Relations with international organisations
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Protection of rights and interests of individuals and legal entities outside the country, maintenance of contacts with Ukrainians living abroad. ❖ Full-scale participation of Ukraine in settlement of conflicts concerning its interests. 			
6. COMMUNIST PARTY OF UKRAINE. Leader — Petro SYMONENKO				
Communist Party of Ukraine Leader — Petro Symonenko Programme approved on 12.03.1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Reanimation, on a new basis, of the Union of equal fraternal nations as a voluntary union of sovereign socialist states, membership in which meets the supreme interests of the Ukrainian people. ❖ Creation of a new Union — a community of fraternal peoples that decided to join their efforts in the sphere of economy, foreign policy, defence and other domains. ❖ Establishment of new markets in Europe and other regions of the world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Opposition to plans of Ukraine's incorporation into military structures of NATO, its transformation into a buffer, a sanitary cordon between the Western states and Russia. ❖ Attraction of foreign investments but resolute rejection of attempts of political dictate and subordination of domestic enterprises to foreign capital. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Removal of obstacles that led to ruination of partner relations and loss of traditional markets of Ukrainian goods in Russia and other republics. ❖ Penetration of new markets in Europe and other regions of the world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Active influence of Ukraine on deepening of integration processes within the CIS. ❖ Accession to the CIS collective security system. ❖ Opposition to plans of Ukraine's incorporation into military structures of NATO, its transformation into a buffer, a sanitary cordon between Western countries and Russia.
7. GREEN PARTY OF UKRAINE. Leader — Vitaliy KONONOV				
Green Party of Ukraine Leader — Vitaliy Kononov Programme (new edition) approved on 27.11.1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Strategic goal — promotion of a multi-polar world order and development of regional co-operation. ❖ Establishment and maintenance of permanent dialogue between countries of the East and West for prevention of possible global conflicts. ❖ Creation of a European security system based on non-forcible factors. ❖ Proclamation of the Black Sea region an area free from nuclear weapons, gradual transformation of the region into a demilitarised zone. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Multi-level co-operation with countries of different continents, preservation of the freedom of political manoeuvre, diversification of economic and political ties. ❖ Priority development of bilateral relations on parity grounds. ❖ Opposition to the use of force in international relations. ❖ Complete ban on all weapons of mass destruction. ❖ Opposition to arms trade. ❖ Preservation of Ukraine's neutral status, opposition to accession to any military blocs. ❖ Impossibility of permanent deployment of foreign troops on Ukraine's territory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Impossibility of extension of the term of Russia's Black Sea Fleet stationing in Ukraine. ❖ Priority development of bilateral relations on parity grounds. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Creation of a European collective security system based on non-forcible factors. ❖ Granting Ukraine a seat of a permanent non-nuclear member of the UN Security Council.





8. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF UKRAINE (united). Leader — Viktor MEDVEDCHUK				
Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (united) Leader — Viktor Medvedchuk Programme approved on 17.06.2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Recognition of Ukraine as an integral part of the world and, first of all, European community. ❖ Stable and safe international environment, strengthening of economic and political positions on the international arena. ❖ Reliable guarantees of state sovereignty and territorial integrity, removal of a foreign threat to its national security. ❖ Integration into the European community, participation in the creation of a pan-European security system. ❖ Strengthening of strategic partnership with Russia and the USA. ❖ Creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central and Eastern Europe as the first step towards transformation of Europe into a nuclear-free continent. ❖ Participation in peacekeeping operations under the UN auspices. ❖ Policy of protectionism with respect to defence enterprises on the external market, creation of favourable foreign policy conditions for export of defence industry products to other countries. ❖ Incorporation into the world economic system as an industrial country, not as a supplier of raw materials and cheap labour. ❖ Retention of the status of a transit state for transportation of oil, gas and other goods from Russia to European countries. ❖ Employment of the existing and search for new capabilities for granting export services (pipelines, rail and road transport, marine fleet, etc.). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Peaceful foreign policy. ❖ Constructive, consistent and balanced foreign policy, development of equitable, civilised international relations based on mutual respect and trust. ❖ Preservation of Ukraine's non-nuclear, non-aligned status. ❖ Ukraine's non-nuclear status is irreversible. ❖ Priority of political, diplomatic and other non-military methods of providing for Ukraine's defence and security. ❖ Possibility of resolute use of military force for the protection of vital national interests of Ukraine when the potential of non-military means is exhausted. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Strengthening of strategic partnership with Russia — an important component of the European security and stability system. ❖ Strategic partnership with the USA. ❖ Expansion of co-operation with the CIS states, East European countries — the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, countries of the Black Sea basin, Balkan and Baltic states. ❖ Restoration of mutually advantageous co-operative ties between Ukrainian defence enterprises and their former partners in the CIS countries. ❖ Development of international co-operation of enterprises of the military-industrial complex with defence and military-industrial entities of foreign, first of all, European countries. ❖ Establishment of parity foreign economic relations with the countries in trade with which imports exceed exports. ❖ EU and Central European states are the main trade partners of Ukraine. ❖ Deepening of foreign economic ties with Russia as an important element of the strategy of economic growth. ❖ Expansion of new and restoration of old, traditional for the Ukrainian economy markets of CIS and Baltic countries, development of free trade with them on the basis of bilateral agreements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Expansion of co-operation with the CIS countries. ❖ Co-operation with the UN and OSCE. ❖ Co-operation with NATO as a respectful security and defence organisation on the European continent. ❖ Creation of preconditions for Ukraine's accession to the WTO. ❖ Co-operation with the European community, international financial institutions for attainment of necessary economic and social transformations.
9. SOCIALIST PARTY OF UKRAINE. Leader — Oleksandr MOROZ				
Socialist Party of Ukraine Leader — Oleksandr Moroz Programme (new edition) approved on 20.05.2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Priority fraternal relations with Russia, Belarus and other neighbours, consolidation and protection of Slavdom. ❖ Mutually advantageous large-scale co-operation of Ukraine with all countries. ❖ Preservation of Ukraine's non-aligned status. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Foreign policy based on the grounds of solidarity with all democratic forces that share the principles of justice, democracy, humanism and are interested in constructive solution of global problems. ❖ Ukraine's non-aligned status. ❖ NATO's eastward expansion is erroneous. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Priority fraternal relations with Russia, Belarus and other neighbours. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ NATO's eastward expansion is erroneous, an international conference on the issues of security and co-operation in Europe should be held. ❖ Ukraine's participation in multilateral peacekeeping forces under the auspices of the UN and OSCE. ❖ Support for the idea of raising the status of pan-European structures.

- ❖ obtaining effective guarantees of Ukraine's security from the world community (*Batkivshchyna*, NDP, LU);

- ❖ Ukraine's participation in collective actions aimed at prevention of armed and global conflicts, settlement of local conflicts or conflicts concerning its interests, participation in the struggle with international terrorism and in peacekeeping missions led by the UN and/or OSCE (APU, *Batkivshchyna*, DU, WFF, NDP, GPU, SDPU(u), SPU);

- ❖ Ukraine's participation in the solution of international environmental problems (APU, LPU, NRU, GPU, *Sobor*, UNR, ChPU);

- ❖ control of emigration and immigration processes (*Batkivshchyna*, DU, R&O);

- ❖ search for adequate responses to the new threats and relevant adjustment of state policy (PR).

Provision of Ukraine's interests in the sphere of international economic relations. Practically all parties see the main overall goals of Ukraine's foreign policy in this sphere as follows: (1) integration of Ukraine's economy into the European and world economy; (2) minimisation of foreign economic dependence of Ukraine. The parties pointed out the following concrete tasks in this direction:

- ❖ strengthening of Ukraine's competitive positions, growth of exports, diversification of markets, protection of the interests of domestic manufacturers on foreign markets (*Batkivshchyna*, DemPU, DU, WFF, CPU, NDP, SDPU(u), LU, UNR, ChPU);

- ❖ preservation and strengthening of Ukraine's role as a transit country (DemPU, NDP, NRU, RCP, SDPU(u), UNR);

- ❖ diversification of sources of energy resources³ (DemPU, NDP, NRU, RCP, USDP, UNR, ChPU);

- ❖ harmonisation of the legislation with the norms and standards of the European Union (DemPU, LU); observance of international norms of protection of intellectual property rights (NRU, UNR);

- ❖ Ukraine's accession to the WTO (CUN, NRU, SDPU(u), UNR).

Given the intentions of many parties regarding the development of Ukraine's foreign policy doctrine and proposed responses to the new challenges that emerged after the adoption of the "Guidelines of Ukraine's Foreign Policy" (1993), the elected Parliament may well initiate revision of the mentioned Guidelines or adoption of a new document laying down the basis of Ukraine's foreign policy with account of new realities.

Fundamentals and principles of foreign policy

Fundamentals of foreign policy declared in one or another form by all parties, irrespective of their political orientation, include: peaceful coexistence; inviolability of borders; absence (inadmissibility) of territorial claims; abidance by the norms of international law; non-interference into internal affairs; mutually advantageous

co-operation; prevention of conflict situations and settlement of conflicts without the use of force.

The main principle at formulation and implementation of foreign policy, as seen by the parties, is the priority of Ukraine's national interests. However, almost unanimous appeals for national interests in no way mean similarly unanimous (uniform) for their vision. In fact, every party has its own idea of national interests, which largely depends on its political orientation. Therefore, it is difficult to get a comprehensive idea of Ukraine's national interests in the sphere of foreign policy, proceeding from party programmes.

Other basic principles of foreign policy include the principles of multi-vector policy (or identification of priorities) and non-alignment (or participation of Ukraine in military-political blocs) declared in party programmes. Party positions regarding those principles differ substantially.

- ❖ **Multi-vector foreign policy.** There is no clear definition of the term of "multi-vector policy"; as a rule, it is used to describe equal importance of Ukraine's relations with the East (Russia, the CIS) and the West (Europe, the USA). In a sense, multi-vector policy is opposed to clear identification of a priority (key) direction of international co-operation of Ukraine.

Some (exclusively centrist) parties in their programmes clearly specify the multi-vector approach as one of the fundamental principles of Ukraine's foreign policy (APU, DU, YPU, PIEU). Other centrist parties, as a rule, profess multi-vector policy *de facto*, prioritising both the eastern and the western directions of foreign policy. By contrast, parties of the Centre-right and Centre-left trend rather definitely specify a certain direction of relations as a priority: Centre-right — the western (European) vector, Left and Centre-left — the eastern (Russian) vector.

- ❖ **Non-alignment/participation in military-political blocs.** Few parties (five out of 26)⁴ did not specify their attitude to Ukraine's participation in military-political blocs. The overwhelming majority supports either the non-aligned status or immediate or gradual accession of Ukraine to the existing military-political alliances.

Party positions on this issue depend on their political orientation. For instance, Ukraine's non-aligned status is mainly supported by centrist parties (APU, DU, GPU, PIEU, SDPU(u)), while the parties of the Centre-right and Centre-left trends mainly have different views⁵. At that, the Right (Centre-right) parties support Ukraine's orientation towards NATO (*Batkivshchyna*⁶, CUN, NRU, R&O, RCP, *Sobor*, UNR, URP, ChPU), the Left (CPU) — towards the CIS Collective Security Organisation (the Tashkent Treaty). Centrist parties whose programmes do not contain clear formulations of retention of Ukraine's non-aligned status gravitate towards deepening relations with NATO (DemPU, WFF, NDP, PR); none of them announced its intention to promote Ukraine's accession to the Tashkent Treaty.

In general, only seven out of 26 parties support retention of Ukraine's non-aligned status. The overwhelming majority of parties stick to the opposite position. Since

³ Parties view this issue not only in purely economic terms but also as a guarantee of true political independence of Ukraine.

⁴ LPU, YPU, *Solidarity*, LU, USDP.

⁵ Among Centre-right parties, only FU supports Ukraine's non-aligned status; among Centre-left — SPU.

⁶ The programme of *Batkivshchyna* limits preservation of Ukraine's non-aligned status only through the period of 2001-2005, at the same time declaring "co-operation with NATO for providing security guarantees" (see the Table).

those parties have real chances of coming to the Verkhovna Rada, there are reasons to assume that the elected Parliament will initiate revision of Ukraine's non-aligned status and its future accession to a military-political bloc, most probably — to NATO.

Bilateral relations

Provisions dealing with the development of bilateral relations are contained in the majority of party programmes. Some parties also specified certain priority directions in the establishment by Ukraine of that form of international co-operation. Their generalisation allows singling out the following basic directions of development of Ukraine's bilateral relations, as the parties see them:

- ❖ **relations with neighbouring countries** (APU, *Batkivshchyna*, FU, WFF, R&O, PIEU, *Sobor*, *Solidarity*, UNR);

- ❖ **relations with Russia.** None of the parties stand against establishment of mutually advantageous, pragmatic relations with the Russian Federation. Differences are observed only regarding the level and mechanisms of co-operation. Some parties called relations with Russia a priority. This primarily relates to the Left and Centre-left parties (CPU — “partner relations”; SPU — “fraternal relations”); almost all members of the Bloc “For a United Ukraine!” (“strategic partnership” (APU, PR); accent on development of relations (NDP, PIEU); “establishment of closer relations with Slavic countries” (LU)); and some parties of the political Centre (SDPU(u) — “strategic partnership”). Among the parties of the Right (Centre-right) trend, only *Batkivshchyna* declared support for a high level of relations with Russia — “strategic partnership”. Other parties of that part of the spectrum put the relations with the Russian Federation on somewhat lower levels and in a number of cases make specific demands to Russia⁷;

- ❖ **relations with the USA.** Some parties emphasise the priority of relations with that influential country, although making different accents on the level of those relations: from “the USA is the main strategic ally” (UNR), “strategic partner” (*Batkivshchyna*, SDPU(u), PR) to “co-operation in economy and security spheres” (CUN) and “economic co-operation” (DemPU);

- ❖ **relations with specific regions of the world.** Some parties pay particular attention to the development of mutually advantageous relations with the countries of East Asia (CUN, UNR, DemPU, WFF, FU, *Batkivshchyna*); Middle East (CUN, UNR, DemPU, WFF); Latin America (CUN, UNR); Africa (WFF);

Relations with international organisations

The majority of programmes declare development of Ukraine's co-operation with international organisations. Such organisations included both universal and regional unions.

Universal organisations. The most frequently mentioned were the UN (*Batkivshchyna*, WFF, GPU, PR, R&O, RCP, SPU, UNR) and UNESCO (WFF, PR, UNR). Co-operation with those organisations finds support of parties of different political trends and does not arouse strong opposition of the parties primarily oriented towards the eastern vector of foreign policy. The situation with financial and economic institutions is somewhat different: only UNR clearly spoke out in favour of Ukraine's further co-operation with the IMF and the World Bank.

Regional international organisations. Party programmes most often mention the EU and the CIS — these organisations split the positions of parties belonging to different sectors of the political spectrum.

- ❖ **The European Union.** Parties of the Right (Centre-right) trend mainly declare immediate accession of Ukraine to the EU: *Batkivshchyna*, RCP, *Sobor*, UNR; R&O (associated membership). The programmes of centrist parties are worded more like “formation of conditions for integration into the European structures” (DemPU, DU, NDP, PIEU, LU) or “establishment of political and military partner relations” (WFF);

- ❖ **Commonwealth of Independent States.** The attitude to Ukraine's participation in the CIS depends on the political orientation of parties. Some parties of the Right (Centre-right) trend stand for immediate exit of Ukraine from the CIS (CUN, NRU, UNR, ChPU); by contrast, the Left (CPU) stand for deepening of relations, up to Ukraine's accession to the Tashkent Treaty and reanimation of the Union “on a new basis”. Centrist parties demonstrate more moderate views, emphasising the necessity of deepening co-operation (NDP, PR, SDPU(u)), development and optimisation of relations (WFF, LU). The majority of other organisations mentioned as desirable for Ukraine's participation belong to European regional structures. Co-operation with them is supported by the majority of parties⁸. Other mentioned regional structures included: GUUAM (NRU, UNR, PR); BSEC (PR, NDP).

Generally speaking, proceeding from the analysis of party program provisions, one should not expect any fundamental changes in the foreign policy of Ukraine after the election of the new Parliament. At the same time, it is possible to predict strengthening of the European vector of foreign policy and stepping up of Ukraine's efforts at promoting security on the continent. ■

⁷ For instance, denunciation of the agreements of the Black Sea Fleet and military bases in Sevastopol (CUN, NRU).

⁸ Meaning co-operation with **OSCE** (CUN, NRU, FU, UNR, NDP, WFF, *Batkivshchyna*, SDPU(u), SPU); **Council of Europe** (CUN, R&O, UNR, PR); **WEU** (NRU, UNR); **EBRD** (UNR); **CEFTA** (UNR, NDP); organisations of Central and East European countries, such as **CEI** (R&O, UNR, NDP); countries of the **Visegrad “Four”** (PR).